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The Transition from German to English in the Missouri Synod from 1910 to 1947

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Introduction

One of the features that marks the Missouri Synod is the fact that for a long period of time it has been able to retain the German language. For years it has held to the German language as a defense against liberalism and rationalism. H. H. Maurer writes in *The American Journal of Sociology* for 1925:

> Undoubtedly the fact that this church has identified itself with the language interest of the family and the culture group has much to do with its growth and strength. . . . It might easily be shown that in this quarter (Missouri Synod) more than anywhere else, the German language has been effectively preserved unto the third and fourth generation, not as a link with Germany and as an insulator against America, but as an insulator of an older group life against both. The strongest appeal of a separate linguistic and educational medium has been for its value as a protection and a means of domestication and immunization against "rationalism," "materialism," "indifferentism," against the paganism of the state schools.[1]

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1 C. Mundinger, *Government in the Missouri Synod*, p. 216, footnote 41.

It was 78 years before half of the services in the Synod were conducted in the English language. For many years the founders of the Synod zealously guarded this Church against the inroads of the English language. To many in America, German and Lutheranism were synonymous. Up until the First World War this body was officially known as the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States. In the constitutions of most of the Districts and congregations we find the word "German."

During the early years of the Church in Missouri the people had a great fear that they would lose their confessional Lutheran stand if they gave way to the English language. German was their mother tongue. Many could not speak or even understand English. "As late as March, 1842, C. F. W. Walther did not know enough English to translate a letter which he had written in the name of Trinity Congregation to the Vestry of Christ Church, St. Louis." [2]

Walther and Sihler were to some degree opposed to the English language in the Church. Sihler led the faction of the Ohio Synod to exclude English from the course of study at the seminary in Columbus, Ohio. In Walther's congregation, Trinity, St. Louis, a paragraph was included in the constitution to assure the fact that German would always be the language used in divine services.

Walther and the majority of the congregation wanted this paragraph (14) to be unalterable and nonrepealable. Some members had their misgivings about the unalterability of this paragraph. The problem was solved temporarily in the next meeting, April 3, 1843, when an addition was made to paragraph 21 stating that the congregation regarded their church as an institution for German Lutherans to maintain divine services as they had had them. Evidently they connected the orthodoxy with language, which was done repeatedly in the Missouri Synod, a habit which stemmed from C. F. W. Walther in his youth.[3]

However, in the face of this, Baepler in his book says, "Professor Walther in particular was eager to promote English work." [4] He did invite a member of the faculty of the Illinois State University of Springfield, Illinois, to come and conduct English services. Not much came of this, because there was not much interest. We read also that "at the Jubilee Synod of 1872 Pastor Theo. Brohm stressed the importance of using the English language in the work of our Church." [5]

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[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 206, footnote 15.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 143.

[4] W. Baepler, *A Century of Grace*, p. 190.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 191.

Though there was an aversion of the pastors and people to the English language, this aversion was based on the fear of false teaching which would creep in with the new language. These congregations were entirely German; so they felt that it was their duty to look after their own needs first before entering the English field.

The first English sermon preached by a Missouri Synod member was preached by Candidate Brohm in 1841 in Perry County.[6] The Ohio Synod was doing extensive work in English, and in the early years anyone who could not understand German was referred to them. In 1872 the English Evangelical Lutheran Conference was organized at Gravelton, Mo. This organization bore the brunt of the English work. It petitioned for admission to the Synodical Conference and to the Western District. Both bodies refused to grant the petition. Out of this conference grew "The General English Evangelical Lutheran Conference of Missouri and Other States" in 1888. Eight congregations and eleven pastors gathered at Bethlehem Lutheran Church in St. Louis. Though they were in doctrinal agreement with the Missouri Synod, they were not allowed to affiliate because of the language barrier. In 1899 a conference was held between representatives of both Synods to discuss the affiliating of congregations. Out of this conference came the decision that German-speaking congregations would seek connection with the Missouri Synod and English-speaking congregations would affiliate with the English Synod.

In 1890 this Synod changed its name to the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States.

In 1905 the Missouri Synod dissolved its English Mission Board, since the work of this group was being undertaken by the Districts. At this time three hundred seventy-six stations had services in the English language.

Constant negotiations were carried on by both bodies to reach an amalgamation. Finally in 1911, when both Synods were meeting in St. Louis, the English Synod was welcomed into the larger body as a District on the basis of the Cleveland Articles of Union. These articles required that the publishing business be transferred to Synod, that the *Lutheran Witness* become the English paper for Synod, that English might be used by members of the English District, that a résumé of the minutes was to be read and printed

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[6] *Ibid.*, p. 190.

in English, that the mission board of the English District be allowed to establish missions wherever it felt the need.

On May 15, 1911, the English Synod as a body was received into membership in the Missouri Synod as a District.

Though the English District was a part of Synod, this did not mean that this was the only group within Synod that used the English language. This was the only group that used this language exclusively. There were many congregations where the services were bilingual.

During the 80's and 90's of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century we find the second and third generations of the founding fathers coming to the fore. The Missouri Synod had naturally expanded. Then people were brought up in two languages, the language which they used the most, English, and the language of their religion, German. In the schools, on the street, and in the stores, offices, and factories they used English. At church and to some degree at home they used German. Many now were more familiar with the English than with the German. This caused concern among the "old guard." They felt that a certain degree of orthodoxy would be lost if they gave way to the English language. Many of the older pastors fought against the rising tendency because they could not speak English. They were handicapped. The youth, the future of the congregation, were out of contact with their pastor. One example cited by Pastor Biedermann in his essay "The English Question," read before the Central District in 1903, should suffice. He cites the case of a young lad who on the brink of death dutifully joined the pastor in a German prayer; when, however, he saw his mother crying, he reverted to his mother tongue, the English, to comfort her. This is one example in many where the youth dutifully learned or rather memorized the German Bible passages and the Catechism, but used the English language for all other uses.

Pastors, however, with the older members of the congregations vigorously opposed all attempts to change from German to English. They felt the doctrine would suffer; they themselves would suffer. When all arguments fell by the side, they firmly called attention to the fact that many of the congregational constitutions forbade the use of any language except the German language. They failed to realize that the Word of God is not limited to any language, that they were losing members, that they were not doing

their Christian duty over against the English-speaking people in their neighborhood.

Such is the history of the language question to the end of the first decade of the twentieth century. At this time many congregations were doing some English work. Synod had an English District set aside for the specific purpose of promoting English work in the States.

During the years from 1910 we find a gradual transition from German to English taking place in the Districts. In some Districts, those in which the German element was less prominent, we find the change taking place more rapidly. In some sections of the country there was hardly any change. The peak was reached in 1925, when only half of Synod still used the German language in services.

Among the social and economic reasons for this change we find these:

1. World War I with its anti-German feeling.
2. The third and fourth generations were coming to the fore — they used little or no German.
3. The rise of new congregations.
4. The urbanization of the members of Synod.

The first reason is an important one. So great was the change during the war years that in 1919 a statistical report of the languages used in Synod was included in the *Statistical Yearbook* for that year.

In this article we are limited to the information contained in the official *Synodical* and *District Proceedings,* the editorials and news items in the *Lutheran Witness,* and the tabulated statistics given in the *Statistical Yearbook.* These works reflect in a general way the trend of Synod. The reader must bear in mind that the transition was general but not complete. The transition has not stopped even in this day. On the official records the transition may be completed, but in the lower echelons of our Synod we still find that the German language is used. In some instances we even find it used exclusively.

I

The Transition as It is Reflected in the Synodical Body

Since the make-up of the synodical body does not allow for a definite decision to be laid down to bring about a change in such things as language, the transition account of the synodical body

is very limited. For an over-all picture of this transition in the years 1922—1947 we quote the following from Professor Baepler's book *A Century of Grace:*

> During this period the transition from the German to the English language was practically completed in Synod's congregations, at the meetings of its Districts, and at the conventions of the General Body. Since 1917 the proceedings of the Delegate Synods appeared in the English language. Synod, in 1926, appointed an assistant secretary for its English minutes. At the convention of 1929 an English sermon was preached in the opening service in addition to the German sermon. In 1938 the German minutes were discontinued. Only an English sermon was given at the opening of the convention at Fort Wayne in 1941.[7]

Becoming a bit more specific, we find that the Synod became very much interested in the work among the English-speaking people of our own land in 1911, when on May 15 the English Synod became a District within our own Synod. Officially now Synod had an English-speaking organ in the form of the *Lutheran Witness.* As to the trend in language in general it reports in the May 22, 1913, issue: "The number of catechumens confirmed in English in our German Districts is constantly on the increase. One District reports that out of a total of 960 catechumens, 310 were confirmed in English." [8]

English services were also on the increase during the period from 1910 to 1919. The *Statistical Yearbook* of 1937 reports that in 1910 471 stations had English services. In 1919 this had risen to 2,492. This tremendous increase is due alone to the fact that we entered into a war with Germany. The use of German was looked upon with displeasure — this accounts for the sudden tremendous increase.

When Synod gathered for its convention in 1914, we find that for the first time a report was made in English. In that same convention it was decided to publish an *Agenda* in German and in English. During the celebration of the One Hundredth Walther Anniversary we find that English hymns were sung and an address was given in English. At the same time at the fiftieth anniversary of the Teachers College at River Forest, Illinois, an English and a German sermon were delivered. These things are significant when we realize that the Missouri Synod was still predominantly German. To many in fact it was known as the German Lutheran Church.

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[7] Baepler, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

[8] *Lutheran Witness,* May 22, 1913, p. 86.

In 1917 the United States entered the First World War. This was the signal to launch a bitter campaign to eradicate from the United States anything that touched on the Germanic. Needless to say, that a religious organization carrying the name "German" bore the brunt of these attacks. The attack was not upon the General Body; therefore we shall discuss the situation as we take up the transition in the Districts. At this time Synod found it wise to drop the word "German" from its name. Thus in the convention of 1917, when the revised constitution was adopted, the word "German" was dropped, and this body became known officially as the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States.

It was also at this time that a need was seen for more use of the English language in the seminaries and in Synod. The English District presented a memorial to Synod to provide for more work in English. The fact that most of the work required the knowledge of the German language acted as a barrier for the student from the English District. According to the *Katalog der Lehranstalten* published by Synod for the years 1910—1917, the average number of courses taught in English varied at St. Louis from three to five courses over the period of three years, while at Springfield we find that seven courses were taught in the English language.

For the 1914 convention an assistant to the Secretary was appointed; he wrote up a brief summary in the English language. In 1920 the Rev. P. F. Bente was elected as assistant to the General Secretary. It was his duty to read an English summary of the preceding proceedings before each session. He also published an English report of the convention business.

In 1923 Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church of Houston, Texas, petitioned Synod to make English the official language. Synod refused to adopt this petition on the grounds that the time had not yet come to exclude German. At this time 54% of the services were still in German in our circles, and 46% were in English. Synod further stated that the churches should be satisfied if English is allowed on the floor of Synod. We assume that this had been the practice since 1911 and perhaps before, in deference to the English-speaking brethren.

Three years later the English Evangelical Lutheran Church of Our Redeemer of St. Louis petitioned that the "official proceedings be printed in the English and in the German languages in parallel

issues."[9] Synod resolved that the reports should be published complete in both languages. In this same convention the Southern District petitioned that the English be made the official language of Synod. Again Synod refused, but pointed out that both languages were to be used. In 1929 we find that the resolutions were to be printed in both languages. It wasn't until 1938 that the reading of the German minutes was discontinued. This is the last reference in the *Synodical Proceedings* to the use of German in the official transactions of Synod.

Synod, however, is still conscious of its tie to the German language. It still publishes the *Lutheraner* and the *Kalender* for its German-speaking minority. In 1946, when the last official report was published, 15% of the services in Synod were still conducted in the German language. In this same year we find that 92% of the people attended English services.

I

The Transition as It is Reflected in the Districts from 1910 to 1919

During the course of this decade we find sixteen Districts making some special effort in order to solve the language question. The congregations of the Districts were especially hard pressed because of the anti-German feeling engendered by the World War. However, this did not affect the Districts until the latter part of the second decade.

In the Atlantic District mission report of 1912 we find that out of twenty congregations which were subsidized, seven had English services. In 1913 this number had increased to fifteen congregations out of twenty-three congregations. All of these congregations had German services. In 1915 the number of mission congregations decreased to sixteen churches. Of these, nine also had English services.

In the Central District we read in the *Proceedings* of 1912 that Pastor J. W. Kossmann was asked to make up an English report of the proceedings. This report was to be fifteen pages in length. It was stated that any pastor who wished a bilingual report was to hand his name to the Secretary.

In 1910 the Kansas District resolved to ask Synod to publish an English edition of the *Agenda*. In this same year we find that the essay read before the Minnesota and Dakota District was to be published in English.

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[9] *Synodical Proceedings*, 1926, p. 150.

In the Southern District we find a great deal of interest displayed in having that District change from German to English. In 1913 the report of the convention was to be published in the *Lutheran Witness* and in the *Southern Lutheran*. In the report published in the *Lutheran Witness* we read:

After disposing of preliminaries, the Rev. G. J. Wegener, President of the Synod, read the customary synodical address. It dealt with the "language question" in our Southern churches. I was stated that in recent years a gradual change had taken place throughout this District Synod as regards the language employed to conduct the church services; that four-fifths of all our church work today must needs be done in the English language. While this transition from German to English might be deplored by some, we nevertheless firmly believe that our fathers' faith is capable of expression in our children's language. Still, just as in this crisis, more so than at any other time, our endeavor must be to maintain inviolate our glorious faith and a sound Lutheran practice. It might be stated here that, at a later session, a committee, consisting of Pastor O. Wismar and the undersigned, was elected to report whether some recognition ought to be given to the change of language, spoken of in the President's report, on the floor of Synod. This committee recommended that, at future conventions, the discussions be conducted in English as well as in German, and that the business proceedings be printed in the English language only. Action on this report was deferred until the next meeting of Synod.[10]

In the *Lutheran Witness* of August 10, 1915, as part of a report of the Southern District Synod we read:

Upon request of the congregation (St. John's, New Orleans, La.) entertaining Synod as well as of the New Orleans Pastoral Conference, this service, for the first time in the history of this District, was held in the English language. This change was deemed expedient by the parties making the request, in order to create a livelier interest in our conventions among our laymen. After organization had been effected the following morning, Synod sanctioned this action of its President, but found it necessary to take up the language question also from another angle, for it developed that several delegates were incapable of expressing themselves in the German language. In this connection it was pointed out that our District had in reality become an English-German District, that fully three-fourths of our work in the South is carried on in the English language, and that we can hope to gain the interest of more laymen for our sessions only if we make these intelligible to all. Synod met the issue in the following manner: In the future, Synod is to be opened with an English service; both languages are to be permitted on the floor of Synod; a German and an English essay are to be read at future meetings.[11]

The first English essay at this convention was delivered by the Rev. O. Wismar on "Religious Indifference."

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10 *Lutheran Witness*, June 25, 1913, p. 94.

11 *Lutheran Witness*, August 10, 1915, p. 247.

However, in the latter half of this decade we find important strides being made in the transition. The force which brought about this change in a Church which prided itself on having the pure doctrine in the German language was a force outside the Church itself. This force was the attitude of the Government and people toward anything German. The warmongers among the Allies had done a very good job of raising a fearful and vicious hate for anything German in the minds of the people. In the small towns of the country, mob hatred grew into violence against anything German. A mark of German was the German Lutheran Church. Against this Church, then, the violence of hate was unleashed. In some States the feeling ran so high that the State Government was forced to pass laws prohibiting the use of German in the churches and schools, even on the public highway. This was a severe blow to the rural churches of our Synod. In 1919 we find that 62% of our people were using the German language in their services.

If we examine these first available statistics according to Districts, we find this picture in 1919: [12]

It must be remembered that all percentages used are taken from the *Statistical Yearbook* of our Synod unless otherwise specified. These percentages, though based on a comparison of the souls in parishes using all German, more German than English, half and half, more English than German, and all English and the total number of souls reported for the District, represent the language used in the services and not the percentage of attendance.

District	English	German
Atlantic	64%	36%
California and Nevada	45	55
Canada	31	69
Central	40	60
Central Illinois	44	56
Iowa	43	57
Kansas	34	66
Michigan	29	71
Minnesota	21	79
Nebraska	33	67
N. Dakota and Montana	36	64
Northern Illinois	24	76
North Wisconsin	29	71
Oregon and Washington	41	59
South Dakota	33	67
Southern	83	17
Southern Illinois	36	64
South Wisconsin	25	75
Texas	32	68
Western	51	49

[12] *Statistical Year-Book*, 1919, p. 115.

As we discuss the events which took place in the war years, we note that those areas which were affected by laws prohibiting the use of the German language were those in which two thirds of the members were served in the German language.

In the Atlantic District we find the addition of an English assistant secretary in 1918. In that year the first English edition of the *District Proceedings* was published. Thirteen hundred and one were ordered in the German language, and nine hundred and eighty-three were published in English. In the 1919 convention it was decided to have one of the synodical services in the English language.

In the California and Nevada District, where the languages used were half and half, we find that in 1919 a District paper was authorized to be published in a German and English monthly version. Grace Congregation of Los Angeles petitioned that the *District Proceedings* be published in English also. Synod however refused on the grounds that the time had not come for this to take place.

Our pastors in Californa had this to contend with, as reported in the *Lutheran Witness.*

> Two bills that have a bearing on the use of the German language in our schools have been reported to us from California. Senate Bill No. 22 makes it unlawful to teach the German language in any public or private school, or to permit any publication in the German language to be used in any such schools, or to have a place in any school library. This bill, if enacted into law, would not only eliminate German instruction from our schools, but also from our college at Oakland. . . . Both in committee and on the floor of the Senate a very bitter spirit of opposition to the use of the German language for any purpose whatsoever was manifested. When one of our pastors was before the Senate Committee, he was told: "If this bill interferes with your religion, then hang your religion on a hook for a while and be American!!" When it was up for discussion in the Senate, the opinion was voiced that the German language should be "abolished from the face of the earth." . . . An amendment confining the teaching of the German language to colleges was lost. . . . It still has to pass the Assembly to become law. Bill No. 311 provides that all instruction in private schools be given in the English language. Bill No. 191 prohibits the use of any foreign language in any religious or sectarian meeting, excepting only the ritualistic portion (liturgy) of the church services.[13]

In the Canada District, where the German was still by far the predominant language, we find that at the convention in 1918 an essay on "The War the Most Terrible Judgment of God in the

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[13] *Lutheran Witness,* April 15, 1919, p. 117.

Light of Holy Scriptures" was translated into English by the Rev. Albert Dede.

The Peoria Rock Island Conference of the Central Illinois District requested the 1919 convention to have an English essay read at the next convention. In the future, it was also decided, the business report would be published in both languages.

The 1919 convention of the Central District was memorialized by Trinity of Evansville, Indiana, to have an English essay read at the synodical meeting, to have the *Proceedings* published in both languages, and to have at least one English service held during Synod. This memorial was adopted.

In the States of the Central District we find that these developments took place: In Ohio, "House-bill No. 15 contains three provisions: Common school branches in any public, private, or parochial school must be taught through the medium of English. 'Other languages than the English may be taught in such schools, but only as an addition or auxiliary to the English language.' One of our pastors writes us that the author of the bill says that it does not prohibit the teaching of Bible History and Catechism through the medium of the German language, nor will the teaching of German as a branch of study be affected by the law. The earlier press dispatches regarding this bill, it appears, did not reflect the tenor of it correctly." [14]

A few weeks later the *Lutheran Witness* stated,

> As was forecast in these columns a few weeks ago, the agitation against the use of any other language but the English is spreading into a number of States hitherto unaffected by the movement. In the State of Indiana a number of bills have been drafted, and are now under consideration by legislative committees, which in one form or another are designed to eliminate the German language from all common schools. However, a great deal of opposition has developed, and the legislators are evidently not in a rush to pass measures which are regarded as infractions of natural and constitutional rights by a large part of the community.[15]

Again, "The Legislature, February 25, passed a law which prohibits the teaching of the German language in any private and parochial school of the State." [16]

In the Eastern District we find that the Salem-Paradise Parish of Troutville, Pa., memorialized the 1919 convention to allow the

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[14] *Lutheran Witness*, February 18, 1919, p. 52.

[15] *Ibid.*, March 4, 1919, p. 73.

[16] *Ibid.*, March 18, 1919, p. 86.

use of English on the floor of Synod. This congregation submitted this memorial because they could find no delegate who could use the German language. Synod resolved to have an English secretary translate the minutes, to have essays read in both languages, and to allow the use of English on the floor of Synod.

In the Iowa District there was much agitation concerning the language question. In its report the School Committee urged the members of the 1918 convention to see to it that English be used as much as possible in the schools. In the 1919 convention the Southern Conference petitioned Synod to allow those delegates who could not use German to use English. This resolution was adopted, as was the one calling for the publication of a short résumé of the proceedings in English. The English Report pointed out the difficulties the parochial schools underwent. In one county, mobs closed three schools; they drove away teachers. Some congregations decided to close their schools indefinitely because they could no longer teach German in the schools. In a letter to the Iowa State Legislature the District School Committee writes, "It is true, there was trouble in certain localities. Schools, churches, and parsonages were painted yellow, doors were broken open, books destroyed, etc." [17] In this letter they were voicing their opposition to the Dean Bill, a drastic and radical measure which would prohibit the use of German in the grade schools. The Committee pointed out that the bill ran counter to good sense, to good government. The Dean Bill was passed in Iowa. It forbade the use of a foreign language in the grade schools in all secular subjects.

In 1916 the Kansas District resolved to publish an English edition of the Business Report. In 1919 the so-called patriotic language laws dealt a mortal blow to some of the schools in the District. According to the *District Proceedings* two schools were closed in Colorado, nine in Oklahoma, and eighteen in Kansas. The *Lutheran Witness* quotes the action taken in Kansas.

> At a meeting held in Topeka the following ideas were embodied in a set of resolutions: — "On account of conditions under which we are living, congregations should rather sacrifice the German than the privilege of having a school at all. When there is no necessity for doing so, the change from German to English should not be made abruptly. Religious instruction in English should be taken up, if not exclusively, at least partly parallel with the German. Teachers and teaching ministers should bring their course of instruction in harmony with that of the

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[17] *Lutheran Witness*, March 18, 1919, p. 87.

public schools. Application of these principles should be made to English preaching as circumstances require or permit." [18]

The law passed in Kansas was of such a nature that even though it made English the only medium of instruction, it would not hinder our work.

In Oklahoma we find: "March 26, our parochial school at Lone Wolf was ordered closed. Similar action was pending for all Lutheran schools in the State of Oklahoma, when a rousing loyalty meeting of our people at Enid, followed by presentations to officials, saved the situation. The German language is dropped from our schools." [19]

Perhaps the most hard-pressed District in regard to the language question was the Nebraska District. The Nebraska State Council of Defense in 1918 requested that all schools using the German language discontinue doing so. In a report to the Council of Defense the School Committee of the District pointed out that one hour was used in school to study the German language, when four to four and one-half hours were used for the study of subjects in English. However, in many parts of Nebraska the counties forbade the use of German in any form in any place. In many cases the issue was forced with violence. In a rabble-rousing editorial the Pittsburgh *Chronicle-Telegraph* of May 3 said,

> But there are signs of coming reform. Some of Nebraska's Hun-Americans are due for a rude shock. "Under a new law teachers of German must obtain a special permit from the State Council of Defence." German is to be no longer a professed subject of study. "There has been a sudden demand for tar and feathers." The Council of Defence is urging good citizens not to take the law into their own hands, but to report all cases of alleged disloyalty to the authorities. However, even those who have the least sympathy with mob methods must agree that unless the Federal authorities are aroused to more vigorous action, "we may hear of worse cases of violence than have yet been reported from Nebraska." [20]

The War Council appointed by the Nebraska District adopted resolutions to the effect that when English services were mandatory, the pastors should aid one another in bringing the Word of God to the people in English, that the churches co-operate with the State as much as possible. In 1919 the Legislature of Nebraska passed a bill which affected our schools. It forbade the use of foreign languages under any circumstances in any elementary school.

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[18] *Ibid.*, May 28, 1918, p. 165.
[19] *Loc. cit.*
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 164.

In the synodical convention of 1919 we find that the delegates resolved to print a summary of the convention in the *Nebraska District Messenger*.

In 1918 we find that the North Dakota and Montana District published a set of principles in English to show their loyalty. As to the situation in the State of Montana, the *Lutheran Witness* quotes the following extract from a letter:

> The Montana Council of Defence, about three weeks ago, promulgated an order prohibiting the use of all German in the pulpit. We have been in conference with the Governor and individual members of the Council. We have been assured an opportunity to explain our case at the next regular meeting of that body on May 27. We have a number of Russian congregations where we could do nothing with the English language. If this order stands unmodified, it will simply make it impossible for our Church to be about its business — preaching the Gospel.[21]

In 1919 various drastic measures were introduced in the Legislature but were defeated. Until laws could be passed, the order of the Defence Council stood.

In the 1919 *Proceedings* of the North Wisconsin District we find an amendment to the articles of incorporation to strike out the word "German" in the official name of the District. Since Synod led the way in this respect, every District followed her example.

In the opening pages of the *Oregon and Washington District Proceedings* of 1918 we find that: "At the close of the service the President of the District, the Rev. L. Stuebe, laid before Synod the reasons that had prompted him to make arrangements to have the sessions of Synod conducted in the English language. Synod fully approved of the action of the President." [22]

In the report of the Mission Board it is mentioned that the school at Paul, Idaho, a flourishing school, was closed because of the German language. It was hoped to reopen it in fall as an English parochial school. The *Lutheran Witness* of May 28, 1918, quotes the fact that Idaho prohibits the use of all languages except the English language. In 1919 the District again reverted to the German, but resolved to print the Business Report in German and English. It also required that all short reports were to be written in both languages and that all long reports must be accompanied by an English résumé.

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21 *Loc. cit.*

22 *Oregon-Washington District Proceedings*, 1918, p. 3.

The South Dakota District, where 67% of the people used the German language in services, was another District which suffered much because of the predominance of German. We quote from the *Proceedings* of the 1918 convention:

> Order Number Four, issued by the State Council of Defence of South Dakota, effective since June 1st, forbidding the use of the German language in divine public worship, caused much distress and agitation among the older members of our District. On Saturday afternoon, June 15, Mr. W. S. Hill, of Mitchell, representing the State Council of Defence, appeared in our midst to explain the rule in question and give the necessary information. Each pastor was given permission to argue his case and state conditions and requirements in his own parish. In several cases as high as 40% of the members could receive little or no benefit from English preaching. They were advised to present their case once more to the Council with proper proofs.[23]

As an example of the extreme feeling against the German language in South Dakota the *Lutheran Witness* cites the example of the County Council of Defence at Armour, South Dakota. The meeting was held to give the ministers a chance to state their case. However a mob entered the meeting and staged such a violent demonstration that the sheriff was forced to clear the meeting room, and the Council, under duress, was forced to yield to the mob's pressure and forbid the use of the German language.

The *Lutheran Witness* of April 29, 1919, reports:

> The Governor of South Dakota has since issued a proclamation disbanding the State Council of Defence and all County Councils of Defence; and all orders, which have been issued, including Orders No. 4 and No. 13, which forbade the use of the German language in churches, Sunday schools, over the telephone, or in public places, are rescinded. One of the last official acts of the State Council was the adoption of a resolution expressing thanks to the German-speaking pastors of the State for their co-operation in the movements which were inaugurated to help win the war. Now that the German language is again allowed in public worship, every congregation will have to wisely and tactfully solve the language question according to local conditions and needs.[24]

The Governor of South Dakota went on record to condemn any suppression of foreign languages and recommended rather more education as a means to Americanize the people.

The *Southern District Proceedings* reports the following:

A petition was received from Christ Church, New Orleans, La.,

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[23] *South Dakota District Proceedings*, 1918, p. 82.

[24] *Lutheran Witness*, April 29, 1919, p. 136.

urging Synod to adopt the English language as its official language for the following reasons:

1.) The English language has become the predominant language used in our church-work here in the South.

2.) Congregations experience considerable difficulty, as matters now stand, to find delegates who speak and understand the German language.

3.) Only through the medium of the English language can our laity receive full benefit of what transpires on the floor of Synod.

4.) The printed *Proceedings* will receive a greater circulation only if they appear in the English language.

Although this petition was reported upon unfavorably by the majority of the committee, Synod, after discussing the matter at length, resolved to adopt the English language as its official language. Synod further resolved to permit anyone so desiring to use the German language on the floor of Synod.[25]

Certain areas of the Texas District, where 68% were served in German, suffered from anti-German feeling. In Caldwell County the Defence Council after hearing the petition and reasons of the German Lutheran Congregation urged the members to use the English language in their services for the common good. The congregation agreed to change as soon as suitable English books could be obtained. The *Lutheran Witness* also carried an account of the conviction of five citizens of Bishop, Texas, who were charged with assault upon one of our Lutheran pastors. For allegedly conducting a German service he was whipped with a leather strap.

This hysteria concerning the language question in the country was not limited to the examples cited above. Illinois and Missouri also suffered under language laws, as did Minnesota and Michigan. Pennsylvania, with its large numbers of Germans, had a Governor who vetoed and condemned all language bills.

This hysteria, as can be seen, had some effect on the Missouri Synod. However at the close of 1919, 62% of the members were served by the German language. Certain areas, as we have seen, suffered more than others. The constant plea during the war years was to let the issue settle itself. In due time it would. Forcing the issue brought heartache and misfortune. Though the language question in our Synod was by no means settled, the events of the last half of the second decade added impetus to a change which was long overdue.

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[25] *Southern District Proceedings*, 1918, pp. 46—47.

III

The Transition as It is Reflected in the Districts from 1920 to 1929

The World War was over, but the anti-German sentiment had not disappeared. The generation which grew up in this decade was removed from the influence of the German language. In the homes the language was rapidly being replaced with English. Officially the Districts were to some degree reluctant to part with the German. Statistics, however, reflect that more English services were being conducted. In 1920 40% of the services conducted were in English. Ten years later we find that this percentage had risen to 57%. When we consider that in 1946 85% of the services were in English, we find that the increase of 17% in the second decade is a considerable increase.

In the Atlantic District 46% of the services were conducted in English, and in 1929 61% of the services were in English. During this period this increase caused some changes in the official language of the District. In the convention of 1921 it was resolved to include an English section in the District paper. The next year the seal of the District was changed to English, and the word "Deutsch" was omitted. Part of the Business Report was printed in English. In 1924 the English language became the official language of the District. Reports and memorials were to be printed in both languages. Both languages could be freely used on the floor of the convention, and it was stipulated that a translation would be rendered for whoever wished it. By 1928 requests for a German edition had reached such a low that it was decided to discontinue the printing of such an edition unless more orders could be found. The financial outlay did not warrant it, nor could anyone be found to translate the essay into German.

In 1920 over half of the services in the California and Nevada District were in English. Yet in 1922 the District refused to adopt the resolution offered by Trinity Congregation of Paso Robles, Calif., that the English language be made the official language. Instead, Synod adopted the following procedures:

1. Use of an English secretary.
2. Reports were also to be made in English.
3. The afternoon devotions were to be in English.

In 1924 part of an English essay was read. By 1929 the percentage of English services had increased to 69%.

In 1921 the Canada District published the *District Proceedings* in English.

Though one half the services were conducted in English in the Central District in 1920, the increase in 1929 was only 7%. In 1921 Rev. W. G. Polack was elected the first English secretary. In the *Proceedings* of that year we find an English report included. In 1927 we read that the German edition of the District paper was discontinued because of the dearth of material, lack of time to translate, and the unnecessary duplication of material.

In 1928 the resolution of Emmanuel Ev. Lutheran Church, Arcadia, Ind., to make the English language the official one of Synod, was adopted. There were to be an English and a German sermon in the opening service. The message of the District President and the principal essay were to be in English.

During the twenties the percentage of English-language services increased from 44% to 62% in the Illinois District. We find that in 1921 an English secretary was appointed. In 1928, a year in which the *Report* was mimeographed, only twenty-two *German Reports* were asked for. In this convention the President was empowered to give his address and report in English. It was asked, however, that only delegates understanding both languages be sent to the convention.

In the first convention of the newly organized Colorado District in 1921 the *Proceedings* were printed in English. Only the essay was printed in German. The following year the minutes were read in both languages. A short English essay was also read. Although in 1924 a German and an English secretary were appointed, in the 1927 convention these positions were changed to secretary and assistant secretary. In 1929 we find that 71% of the services were in English.

In the Eastern District there was an increase of 10% in the number of English services conducted. In the 49th annual convention the name of the District was changed. The word "German" was dropped. During this convention the duties of the English secretary were outlined. The secretary was required to prepare independent English minutes, to translate all motions in the German language, to give the gist of all reports and overtures made in the German language. As to the *Report,* the convention could choose one of three ways of publishing it; either a *German Report* with an English résumé added, a bilingual *Report,* or an *English Report.* The next convention resolved to publish two distinct *Reports,*—

one in English and one in German. In the 1924 convention the petition to use English on the floor of Synod was referred to the Trustees. The following year the convention decided to publish only one bilingual *Report,* since the demand for a separate German one was not great enough. Two years later, in 1927, only an *English Report* was published, with the German essay included.

In the Iowa District the percentage of English used increased from 43% in 1920 to 59% in 1929. In 1921 a District paper was begun, published in English and German. In this same year it was decided to publish the essay in German with a short English résumé together with the Business Report in English. In 1922 this was modified to the extent that the essay, the report of the District President, the report of the synodical representative, the reports of the mission board and treasurer were to appear in English. It was also decided to have a short English essay read at the convention. In 1924 the first English edition of the *Report* appeared. Rev. O. Nieting was the English secretary. In 1927 the English secretary became the assistant secretary.

An 18% increase from 34% to 52% was registered in the Kansas District during the twenties. In 1922 a short résumé of the business proceedings appeared in English. Three years later the proceedings of the convention were recorded in English. At that time an assistant secretary was elected to record the minutes in English.

In the Manitoba-Saskatchewan District 27% of the services were only in English in 1929.

In the Michigan District there was an increase from 33% to 51% in that ten-year period. In 1924 the convention resolved to print the *Proceedings* in German and in English. Since no English essay had as yet been given, a short résumé of the German one was to be printed. It was further resolved to have a short English essay read to the convention in the future. To aid the secretary, an assistant secretary was added. A year later the convention decided that the *Proceedings* were to appear in one pamphlet, the essay in the language in which it was read, the *Business Report* in English.

During the period from 1920 to 1929 the use of the English language in the services of the Minnesota District increased from 25% to 47%. In the 1928 *Proceedings* we read: "Resolved that the proceedings of the convention be published in the German and in the English paper of the District. The address of the president is to appear in the German edition, and the essay read during the

convention in the English edition. Anyone desiring a copy of the English kindly order the same." [26]

The use of English in the services in the Northern Illinois District increased from 28% to 49% during the twenties. In 1924 a memorial submitted by St. John's of Wilmette, Ill., asked that both an English and a German essay be given; it further asked that an English and a German summary of the reports be published and that the financial report be published in English. Three years later an English secretary was added. In 1928 the Southern Pastoral Conference memorialized Synod to have all reports and resolutions printed in English and in German, to have the devotional services in the morning in German and the afternoon in English, to have only two services during the convention, the pastoral and the school service, using the languages alternately.

In the Northern Nebraska District we find an increase in the English language used in services from 33% to 54%. In 1924 we find that the Business Report was to be published in German and in English. In 1927 an English secretary was elected. A year later the convention decided the following: "Resolved that during the sessions of our District the English language be used more freely and that all important resolutions be presented in both languages before being put to a vote." [27]

In 1921 the language law prohibiting the use of German in the common school was declared invalid by a judge of the Dodge County (Nebraska) District Court.

In the North Wisconsin District there was an increase of 18% in the use of English from 30% to 48%. In 1921 it was resolved to print an *English* report of twenty-four pages. In 1924 the English language was to be used in the afternoon devotions and sessions. Members, however, could use German whenever they wished.

The Oklahoma District, which was formed in 1924, used the English in 47% of its services at that time. In 1929 it had risen to 70%. The District resolved in its first convention to have the President and Secretary publish a report of the proceedings in both languages in the *Oklahoma Lutheran.*

In the Ontario District we find that in 1925 the convention heard an essay in both languages. By 1929, 49% of the services were

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[26] *Minnesota District Proceedings,* 1928, p. 15.

[27] *Northern District Proceedings,* 1927, p. 50.

in English. A year before the *Proceedings* were published entirely in English.

In the Oregon-Washington District the increase was from 44% to 65%. We find that in the 1921 convention the word "German" was dropped from the official name. In this convention a German and an English essay were delivered. The greater part of the Business Report appeared in English in 1924. At this convention a German and an English secretary were elected. In 1927 the entire *Proceedings* were in English, except for the German essay.

The Southern Illinois District was slow to change, for in 1920 36% of the services were in English while in 1929 51% were in English. In the 1924 convention the Synod decided to have a short English essay and to continue to allow those proficient in the English language to use that language on the floor. In the 1927 *District Proceedings* we find an outline of the English essay printed and some of the reports printed in English.

The use of the English in the Southern Nebraska District increased in 1922 from 37% to 55%. In 1924 it was decided to publish an English résumé of the German essay. A year later the entire *Proceedings* were to be printed in English, including an English summary of the essay. In 1927 "the Synodical Report shall be a separate number of the *District Messenger*. The doctrinal papers shall be printed in the language in which they were delivered, the business matters in English." [28]

Another District that was slow to change was the South Wisconsin District. In 1920 30% of the services were in English. This increased to 45% in 1929. In the 1921 *Proceedings* the thirty-two pages included an eight-page summary in English. This was prepared by the assistant secretary, Rev. Wm. Lochner. In 1927 the convention decided to include a short English essay in its sessions.

The Texas District is another District where we find islands of Germans intent upon preserving their language. The use of the English in services increased in ten years from 30% to 47%. In 1921 the Texas convention published a District paper, *The Messenger*, in English and German. Six years later the convention resolved to have an English essay read the next time it convened. It also elected assistant secretaries in German and English.

In the oldest District, the Western District, the increase was

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[28] *Southern Nebraska District Messenger*, 1927, p. 57.

from 49% to 64% over the period of ten years. In 1921 an English essay was also read before the convention. In 1922 the *Proceedings* were printed in English. To aid in the work, two English secretaries were elected.

The language question in regard to the schools of the various Districts was not a dead issue. After the war, during the twenties, the prohibition persisted. However in June, 1923, the United States Supreme Court declared such laws invalid.

As can be seen from the preceding, the language question, though solved in some corners, was slowly being solved in many of the Districts. During the twenties there was no State forcing a change. The change came from within as the younger generation taking an interest in church work demanded the use of the English language.

In an editorial in 1921 Dr. Theodore Graebner called attention to the fact that although the change was taking place, we should be sure to supply our English-speaking people with enough literature to keep them well indoctrinated. He added that we should persistently urge our people to use this literature. Only if the Church failed in this, would the catastrophe befall us as it had the other Lutheran churches in America.

"The change of language need not hurt our Church. It expands immeasurably our missionary opportunity. But the change of language which takes place without adequate provision for the training of Lutheran consciousness and conscience — as our fathers trained us — will not only hurt, but will be a calamity." [29]

IV

The Transition as It is Reflected in the Districts from 1930 to 1947

The past seventeen years show a noticeable increase in the transition from German to English. In 1930 the number of services held in English was 58%. In 1946, the last year for which accurate statistics are available, the number was 85%. There was a 27% gain, while in the years of 1910—1929 there was a gain of 19%. Economic and social factors entered in to a large degree to bring this about. The younger people did not stay home very long. Their parents spoke little German. More mission congregations were springing up. In 1930 we find four Districts besides the

[29] *Lutheran Witness*, July 5, 1921, p. 212.

English District in which there were no churches that were all German in language. These were the California and Nevada, the Southern, the Southern California, and, strangely, the Southern Nebraska District. In 1946 we find twenty-two Districts besides the English District in which no congregation held services in German exclusively.

As we discuss the changes in the various Districts, we note that though the majority of the services of the Districts were in English, the Districts were slow to officially change from German to English.

In 1936 the Atlantic District passed a resolution to discontinue the German secretaryship. By 1946 82% of its services were in English, and it ranked twenty-second in percentage of English used.

In the Alberta and British Columbia District two memorials were submitted concerning the language question in 1937. One was from Mount Calvary in Calgary and the other from Immanuel in Alhambra. Both asked that the English language be made the official language of the District. The committee on this overture recommended that the congregations send members versatile in both languages. Both a German and an English essay were read. In 1930 44% of the services were in English, and in 1946 68% were in English.

In the Central District the offices of German and English secretary were replaced by the office of secretary and assistant secretary in 1930. Three years later the German essay was dropped from the agenda. The percentage of English services had risen from 58% in 1930 to 80% in 1946. The District then ranked twenty-fifth in percentage of English used.

There was a change from English secretary to assistant secretary in the Central Illinois District in 1930. Seven years later the *Proceedings* were printed entirely in English. This District ranked twelfth in 1946, for it had risen in percentage from 64% to 89%.

Two resolutions marked the transition in the Colorado District in the thirties. In 1933 only one secretary was elected, and his work was to be done only in English. The following years the District resolved to have the essay read only in English. In 1946 this District ranked third in percentage, with 98% of its services in the English language. In 1930 70% of its services had been in English.

In 1930 the Eastern District officially adopted the English language. In this same convention it resolved "that but one sec-

retary be elected, but that a résumé of the proceedings of each session be given in German." [30] In 1934 the District voted to discontinue the German essay because the majority could not understand it or preferred English. Since 1930 the percentage had increased from 61% to 82%, and it ranked twenty-third.

The Iowa District resolved to make English the official language in 1931. In 1937, when it became the Iowa District East, we find no more German essays printed. Since its beginning in 1937 Iowa West conducted all its proceedings officially in English. They ranked eighteenth and ninth, respectively, in 1946.

As late as 1940 the Kansas District resolved to have the official minutes recorded only in English. In this same convention it was decided to have the *Proceedings* printed in German only for those who desired it. The two secretaries, German and English, were retained. In 1930 53% of the services were in English, while in 1946 92% of the services were in English. This District ranked tenth.

The Michigan District in 1937 resolved to print only one edition of the *Proceedings,* and the reports were to be printed in whatever language was used. In 1938 the last German essay was read. By 1946 the percentage of English used had increased from 51% to 78%, and this District ranked twenty-seventh.

In 1946 the Minnesota District ranked twenty-sixth in percentage of English used. Three years earlier it had resolved to have the German essay printed in the German paper and the English essay in the English paper. Since 1930 the percentage of English used had increased from 52% to 80%.

It wasn't until 1939 that the North Dakota and Montana District elected an English assistant secretary. In 1940, however, they made the official minutes those written in the English language. In 1946 the new North Dakota District ranked twenty-fourth. It still had six stations, with 668 baptized members, where the services were all German. Since 1930 it had increased from 52% of the services in English to 81% in 1946. The new Montana District registered a percentage of 89% and ranked thirteenth in 1946.

In the Northern Illinois District the convention of 1931 resolved to have the essays printed in the language in which they were given; the Business Report was to be printed in English.

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30 *Eastern District Proceedings,* 1930, p. 131.

This convention also decided to have two essays read, one in English and one in German. In 1943 the convention passed a resolution to discontinue the German essay. This District ranked twenty-eighth, with 78% of its services in English. This was an increase of 28% since 1930.

In 1930 the Northern Nebraska District elected a German and an English secretary. Owing to the depression in 1933 only a shortened form of the *Proceedings* was published; this was entirely in English. However, again in 1936 the *District Proceedings* contained both the German and the English essay and the English Business Report. One year later the convention resolved to drop the reading of a German essay in the next convention. At this convention they also changed the language secretaries to secretary and assistant secretary. By 1946 this District ranked nineteenth and had increased in percentage from 54% in 1930 to 85%.

The Messenger of the North Wisconsin District carried these resolutions passed in 1933:

1. That all minutes and reports be read in English and that an explanation be made in German if requested.

2. That overtures may be submitted in either language.

3. That either language may be used on the floor without special permission from the chair.

4. That an English and a German doctrinal essay be read at every convention.[31]

In 1942 the German version of *The Messenger, Der Bote,* was discontinued. In the 1946 *Statistical Yearbook* this District ranked twenty-first in percentage of English used. During the years from 1930 to 1946 it had increased from 50% to 83%.

In 1931 the last German essay was delivered at the Ontario District convention. In 1946 this District ranked fourteenth. It had increased in percentage from 49% in 1930 to 89% in 1946.

In the Oregon and Washington District the English secretary became the assistant secretary in the convention of 1930. Three years later the German essay was dropped from the agenda. This District ranked fourth in 1946. It reported no stations having "all-German" or "more German than English" services. Only three stations had half German and half English services, while three stations reported more English services than German, and

[31] *The Messenger,* 1933, p. 2.

151 stations reported all English services. It had risen from 72% in 1930 to 98% in 1946.

In the 1931 convention of the South Dakota District three overtures urged the adoption of English as the official language. All three were violently opposed by the committee and were rejected by Synod. This District ranked seventeenth in 1946. In 1930 55% of its services were in English, and in 1946 86% were in English.

The *Proceedings* of the Southern Illinois District of 1934 appeared entirely in English, except for the German essay. In the convention of that year the District resolved to have the chair translate motions not given in the language understood by all. In 1940 the District adopted the overture of Trinity Lutheran Church of Centralia, Ill., which asked that English be established as the official language and that all services and essays be in English. This District ranked sixteenth in 1946, having increased in 1930 from 64% to 87% in 1946.

The *Southern Nebraska District Messenger* carried this resolution adopted in convention in 1936: "Due to the fact that so many who do not read German received our District paper only every other month, it was decided to publish the *Messenger* in English every month with a German insert every other month." [32]

In 1940 the German essay was dropped, and in 1942 the German supplement to the *District Messenger* was discontinued. In 1930 57% of the services were in English and by 1946 89% were in English. This District ranked fifteenth.

The resolutions committee presented the following to the 1933 convention of the South Wisconsin District. "That the chair be instructed to appoint a representative committee which is to be ready at the next District convention to submit a report on the advisability of making the English language the official language of the District." [33] This was adopted by the convention. In 1934 this committee advised the District to let the matter rest; it would take care of itself. This resolution was adopted. Though we find two English essays read in 1936, in 1939 the last German essay was read. In this convention the overture of Cross Lutheran Church, Milwaukee, Wis., was adopted. This made English the official language of the District. In 1930 47% of the services were in English. In 1946 70% were in English. This District ranked twenty-ninth.

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[32] *Southern Nebraska District Messenger*, 1936, p. 47.

[33] *South Wisconsin District Proceedings*, 1933, p. 71.

The Texas District elected German and English secretaries in 1933. The next year the District adopted the overture of St. John's of Beaumont, Texas. This overture called for a résumé to be given in the opposite language of the essay. In 1936 the *Proceedings* were printed in English, and in 1939 the positions of German and English secretaries were dropped. This District ranked twentieth in 1946. It had increased in percentage from 50% in 1930 to 84% in 1943.

In 1930 the Western District dropped the position of English secretary and created the position of assistant secretary. The next year Mr. E. Eckhardt, the synodical statistician, reported that five thousand copies of the *Western District Lutheran* were in German and fifteen thousand were in English. The *Proceedings* of that year were printed entirely in English. This District ranked eleventh in 1946. It had increased from 66% in 1930 to 90% in 1946.

In 1946 the over-all picture showed that 85% of all services were in the English language. In the period shortly before the war and during the war, that is from 1939 to 1943, the over-all average rate of increase was 14%. As far as can be ascertained, our churches did not suffer from the language difference in World War II as they did in World War I. However, it must be borne in mind that at that time (1919) 38% of all the services were in English, while in 1942 82% of all the services were in English.

If we compare the statistics of 1930 with those of 1946, we find quite a change in the number of stations having half German and half English services. The Central Illinois District had twenty-two such stations in 1930. In 1946 there were only four. Iowa had sixty-five in 1930. In 1946 there were ten in Iowa East and West combined. In Michigan there were eighty-seven, while in 1946 there were only thirty-six. In Minnesota there were one hundred and forty-nine as compared with fifty-four in 1946. In North Wisconsin there were eighty-six in 1930; in 1946 there were twenty-four. In the Western District there were sixty-four in 1930; in 1946 there were only seventeen.

In some Districts we find that the German language is still the official language, but that this language has fallen into disuse.

Conclusion

Through many of the editorials of the *Lutheran Witness* concerning the language question we find this advice running: let each congregation make the change at the time it alone sees fit

to do this. The Synod at large and the Districts cannot dictate to the congregations. In their official business these bodies have dispensed with German. But in some congregations the German is still used in the service. Thus the rather slow and laborious process of transition has come practically to an end.

In some cases the lack of change worked as a detriment to the Church, but on the whole it had a wholesome effect. The transition was only in language and not in doctrine. The gradual change did not alter this. The Lutheran Church — Missouri Synod still retains its firm Bible-based doctrine which the old German fathers taught and held dear.

Today the literature of the Church is almost all in English. In this one respect it is to be deplored that not more of the theological literature of our Church is in English. This is being remedied to some degree. However, if the Church is to remain firmly grounded on the fathers' faith, then that which they taught must be made available in the language of our day.

Some idea of the language preference of our people can be gathered from the unofficial tabulations of the subscription lists of the *Lutheran Witness* and *Lutheraner*.

Lutheran Witness		*Lutheraner*	
1912	12,000	1910	35,000
1919	80,000	1915	40,000
1934	34,000	1920	30,000
1935	50,000	1930	28,700
1947	330,000	1940	18,325
		1947	24,000

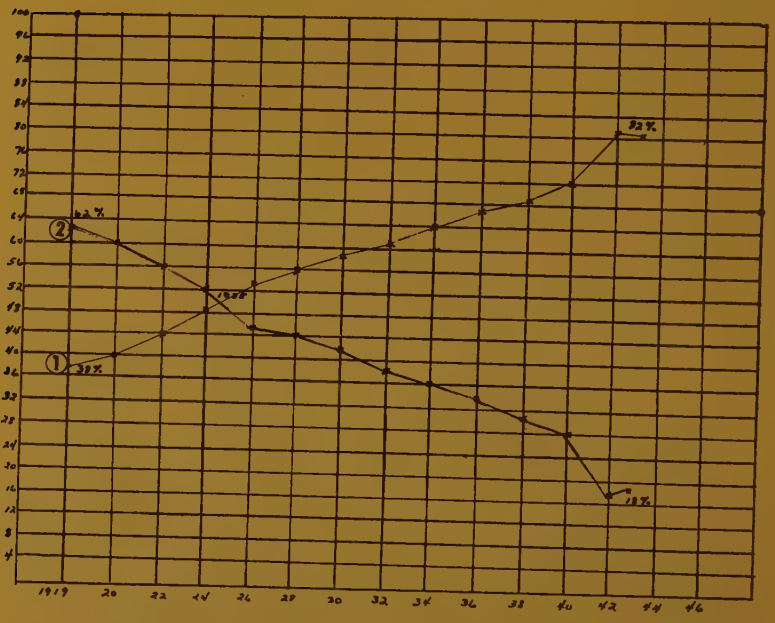
Though the increases and decreases are not constant, the figures still tell the direction of the language change. The sudden upsurge in 1919 of the *Lutheran Witness* circulation was due to a drive by the Lutheran Laymen's League. The change in the thirties was caused by the depression. The sudden upsurge in the late thirties and forties was due to the fact that the Districts of Synod added their Supplements and ordered congregation-wide subscriptions. In the circulation of the *Lutheraner* we find that the peak was reached just prior to our country's entry in the First World War. The decline in the thirties cannot be attributed alone to the language, but also to the economic condition of that time. The upsurge in 1947 was also caused by the addition of the District Supplements and the use of congregation-wide subscriptions.

Perhaps the picture of the circulation increases and decreases

of the *Annual* and the *Kalender* can add to the whole picture. The following are unofficial statistics:

	Annual	*Kalender*
1924	50,000	80,000
1930	58,000	63,000
1935	52,000	44,000
1940	56,000	30,000
1945	80,000	21,000

Statistics of Language Used in the Missouri Synod from 1919 to 1943



English = 1 German = 2

These figures show a more exact change in the language preference. In regard to these statistics we must bear in mind that the decrease in 1935 was due to economic conditions and to a rather sharp increase in price.

Thus we have an over-all picture of the transition from German to English. The change has not been complete, nor will it be, for German is by no means a dead language. However, the Church weathered the storm of the transition period without any major ill effects. This was due to the fact that the change was made in a sensible manner. The Church lost very little by the

change. Though the transition could have come sooner, this was blessed by God. Our Church still remains founded on the firm Bible principles which our forefathers brought to this country in 1839.

The language question no longer confronts us as a burning issue, as it did our fathers. Though we may scorn their slow method of change, we should thank God that the question was solved in the manner in which it was. It has preserved our Church from division and unrest. In it we see the hand of God ever guiding His Church.

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The History of American Lutheran Missions in Asia, Africa, and Oceania

By The Rev. Orville A. Buntrock, A. B., B. D.

XVII. The Norwegian Lutheran Church (Evangelical Lutheran Church) of America in Madagascar

Madagascar is an island in the Indian Ocean about 250 miles from the continent of Africa. It is situated in the torrid zone and has a population of over three and one half million. It is the third-largest island in the world, having an area equal to that of Texas. Politically it became a French colony in 1896.[1]

The field of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America is found in the province of Fort Dauphin in the south. The eastern part of this region is mountainous, while the western part is generally level. The people are called Malagasy. Racially they are of the brown Malay type, having languages, traditions, and customs in common with the Indian Archipelago. The mission work is carried on with the Tandroy and Tanosy tribes.[2]

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1 George Drach, *Our Church Abroad,* pp. 112—113.

2 *Ibid.,* pp. 113—114. For extensive information concerning the topography and climate of the land and the religious customs, traditions, etc., of the natives consult Andrew Burgess, *Ra-Ha-La-Hi-Ko,* and *Zanahary in South Madagascar.*

In 1892 the southern part of the work had been ceded to the Norwegian United Lutheran Church. Internal dissension in that Church led to another division in 1893, so that the Lutheran Free Church received the southwestern part of Madagascar and the United Norwegian Lutheran Church the southeastern part of Madagascar, namely, the Province of Fort Dauphin. This is the field of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. In 1941, after fifty-three years of teaching and preaching, there were 9,283 communicant members in the Malagasy churches in Fort Dauphin Province. There were 16 foreign missionaries and their wives and 18 single women. The native staff comprised 21 pastors, 159 evangelists and catechists, 3 Bible women, and 61 teachers. These workers had charge of 11 main stations and 136 outstations, comprising 128 congregations.[3]

MISSION STATIONS IN ANOSY[4]

Fort Dauphin

Founded by Hogstad (1888).

Missionaries (1942): Superintendent and Mrs. K. F. Braaten, Miss Agnette Haugen, Miss Mary Rendahl.

By 1938, 3,571 souls had been baptized at this station during the fifty years of its history. At that time it had a membership of 1,260, of which 543 were communicant members.

Manantenina

Founded by Hogstad (1896). (Originally started by the Free Church and exchanged for St. Augustin on the West Coast in 1904.)

Missionaries (1942): The Rev. and Mrs. R. C. Cartford. 1,400 souls have been baptized since Hogstad baptized Reobo, the first native convert at this station.

Ranomafana

Founded by Trystad (1909).

Missionaries (1942): The Rev. and Mrs. P. B. Stolee.

By 1937, 1,248 souls had been baptized at this station.

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[3] J. E. Gronli (ed.) *The Morning Cometh*, Yearbook 1941—1942, pp. 76—77.

[4] Unless otherwise stated all information concerning these stations, except the 1942 missionary personnel, is taken from J. E. Gronli (ed.), *From Darkness to Light*, Yearbook 1938, pp. 19—118. The 1942 missionary personnel is taken from J. E. Gronli, *The Morning Cometh, Yearbook* 1941—1942, p. 73.

Manafiafy

Founded by Skaar (1898). Also called Ebenezer and Ste. Luce.

Missionaries (1942): The Rev. and Mrs. T. F. Braaten, Miss Lyla Sivesind.

MISSION STATIONS IN ANDROY

Ambovombe

Founded as a main station by Tovrik (1918).

Missionaries (1942): The Rev. and Mrs. K. Monson and Mrs. O. L. Hofstad.

2,400 souls have been baptized since the station was opened.

Bekily

Founded as a main station by Cartford in 1921. (The work here was begun by Nesdal in 1915 as an outstation under Tsivory.)

Missionaries (1942): The Rev. and Mrs. F. S. Hallanger.

In 1938 Bekily had 71 baptized souls, seven confirmed, and a total membership of 626. They paid their share of self-support, 7,000 francs, without a murmur.

Tsihombe

Founded by Hofstad (1927).

Missionaries (1942): Sister Laura Petersen.

By 1938, 616 souls had been loosed from the bondage of Satan. One of the great handicaps in the work at Tsihombe are the recurring famines.

Behara

Founded by Picard (1912).

Missionaries (1942): Miss Gunda Hennum.

The Tandroy is less conservative than the Tanosy, and it is easier for him to break the shackles of his ancestors. 1,419 souls have been received into the Lord's kingdom through Holy Baptism during its short existence of 25 years.

Tsivory

Founded by Jorgensen of the Lutheran Free Church. Transferred in 1907 to the predecessors of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America.

Missionaries (1942): The Rev. and Mrs. K. L. Norlie.

G. V. Torvik states that in the Tsivory district 1,159 have been baptized since the beginning; but he also informs us that

there are only 152 communicant members. And it is rather humiliating that the greater number of the people are from the interior, while the tribes in the country, the Tandroy, the Bara, and the Tanala have barely been touched.

MISSION SCHOOLS

MANIFIAFY GIRLS' SCHOOL

Founded by Caroline Nilsen in 1895.

Missionary (1942): Miss Mayme Stevenson.

In its early days it was difficult to enroll girls in the schools because the natives did not trust the foreigners. In 1902, during the time Miss Emma Dahl was in charge, the school was moved from Fort Dauphin to Manifiafy. During the native uprising in 1904 the girls were sent home. At that time the enrollment had reached 100. In 1905 the school was reopened. In 1906 there was another short interruption when the school was closed by the government.

It has always been the aim of the school to train the girls to become capable and efficient Christian homemakers, to become worthy helpmates for the Christian workers, to make them independent in case they should not get married or should they become widows, to prepare for further study at Manantantely in case they chose to study there; by giving them courses in homemaking, industrial work of all kinds, and Bible studies, besides the regular elementary work.

MANANTANTELY BOYS' SCHOOL

Founded by P. C. Halvorson (1909). Moved to Manantantely in 1921.

Missionaries (1942): The Rev. and Mrs. Charles Jeannot, Miss Agnes England.

A primary department is maintained and those that show progress continue in the normal department. The teachers of the primary schools are graduates of the Manantantely normal and have State diplomas. Those that do not succeed in passing the government examinations are given other useful occupations in the mission. The Rev. Charles Jeannot, director of the school, is a Lutheran pastor from Clairegoutte, France, and formerly a missionary in Transvaal, South Africa.[5]

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[5] Andrew Burgess, *Zanahary in South Madagascar*, pp. 221—222.

Evangelistic School at Fort Dauphin

Founded by P. C. Halvorson (1909).

Missionaries (1942): Miss Nellie Dahl, Sister Anna Gjernes.

Young men who are to serve as evangelists attend the preparatory schools, which are located at each of the mission stations. This is a three-year course in which they are given an elementary education and grounded in the Bible. After the preparatory course is completed, the graduates of the eastern field enter the Evangelist School at Fort Dauphin. Bible study, doctrine, and practical work receive special attention. After completing a three-year course here, the men are sent out as evangelists to outlying villages.[6]

Bible School at Ambovombe

Founded by O. P. Stavas in 1929.

The students from the preparatory schools in Androy formerly attended the Fort Dauphin Evangelist School. The damp coast climate and the long distances were immense barriers for training Tandroys for Androy. Since its founding this school has sent out a large number of evangelists to preach and teach among the people of the vast area of Androy.[7]

OTHER SCHOOLS

American School at Fort Dauphin

Founded in 1915. This is a school for the missionaries' children.

Teachers (1942): Miss Dora Gulbranson, Miss Bertha Rorstad, Miss Celia Thompson, Miss Magnyhild Nybroten.

Inter-Lutheran Seminary at Ivory

This seminary is operated jointly by the missions of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America, the Norwegian Missionary Society, and the Lutheran Free Church. The native pastors of the three co-operating societies are trained in this seminary. It is located near Fianarantsoa on the field of the Norwegian Missionary Society.

Native Self-Government

Steps have been taken toward establishing a self-governing Malagasy Church. In 1924 the *Comité Mixte* was organized. It is composed of seven native members chosen by the yearly meeting

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[6] *Ibid.*, p. 222.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 222—223.

of the native Church and three missionaries chosen by the Mission Conference. They discuss all practical problems concerning the schools and congregational work and formulate proposals for the missionary conference. The first Pastoral Conference was held at Behara in 1930. The *Comité Mixte* and the Pastoral Conference are steps toward a realization of the Lutheran Church of Madagascar, where the native Christian Church will have its own organization and the missionaries will be advisory members only.[8]

Missionaries who have served in the Madagascar Mission of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America:[9]

J. P. Hogstad, sent in 1887; died in Fort Dauphin, 1911.
E. H. Tau, sent in 1889; to America, 1905; died 1917.
G. N. Isolany, sent in 1893; to America, 1901; died 1935.
O. B. Sanders, sent in 1893; to America, 1902.
Caroline Nilsen, sent in 1893; to America, 1901.
J. Skaar, sent in 1897; to America, 1901; died 1932.
P. C. Halverson, sent in 1897; to America, 1916; representative, Foreign Missions; died 1937.
M. J. Stolee, sent in 1900; to America, 1909; professor of missions, Luther Theological Seminary.
A. Elle, sent in 1901; to America, 1903.
G. Torvik, sent in 1901.
Emma Dahl, sent in 1901; to Norway, 1906; died 1932.
Jorgine Mjovik, sent in 1902; to America, 1906; died 1908.
F. A. Bjelde, sent in 1905.
Wm. Trygstad, sent in 1905.
Nellie Dahl, sent in 1905.
Sister Caroline Thompson, sent in 1907; drowned when steamer sank near Capetown, South Africa, 1917.
Sister Mette Hagen, sent in 1907.
Alfred Picard, sent in 1908; to America, 1926.
Henri Douze, sent in 1908, resigned 1924.
Chr. Pedersen, sent in 1908.
Anna Wilhelmsen, sent in 1909; married A. Picard, 1911; died, Tananarive, 1917.
John Fjeldstad, sent in 1910; to America, 1915.
Eugene Rateaver, sent in 1911.
Sister Anna Stenseth, sent in 1911; married K. F. Braaten, 1921.
Sister Bertha Landsverk, sent in 1912; to America, 1917; died 1924.
Sivert Nesdal, sent in 1912.
B. M. Schroeder, sent in 1913.
Sven Tverberg, sent in 1914.
R. C. Cartford, sent in 1914.

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[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 227—228.

[9] Andrew Burgess, *Ra-Ha-La-Hi-Ko*, pp. 225—226.

Ingara Nakling, sent in 1914.
J. K. Krogh, sent in 1914; to America, 1921.
Clara Cysland, sent in 1915.
Sister Oline Egesdal, sent in 1916.
David Lovaas, sent in 1916; to America, 1933.
K. F. Braaten, sent in 1916.
K. Monson, sent in 1919.
Celia Thompson, sent in 1919.
Anna Knutson, sent in 1920; married Wm. Trygstad, 1921; died February, 1932.
Sister Ella Ness, sent in 1920; to America, 1933.
O. P. Stavaas, sent in 1920.
Anena Christensen, sent in 1920; to America, 1923.
Sister Laura Peterson, sent in 1921.
J. F. Ylvisaker, sent in 1921; to Africa, 1925.
Olaf Carlson, sent in 1921.
Marie Torgerson, sent in 1921; to America, 1928; died 1937.
Sister Anna Gjernes, sent in 1922.
T. F. Braaten, sent in 1922.
C. P. Rasmussen, sent in 1923; to America, 1925.
Sister Clara Fremming, sent in 1923; to America, 1926.
P. B. Stolee, sent in 1924.
Constance Stolee, sent in 1924; married A. S. Burgess, 1928.
Alta Hougen, sent in 1924; married Wm. Trygstad, 1934.
Cora Anderson, sent in 1924; to America, 1927; died 1927.
Laura Olson, sent in 1925.
O. L. Hofstad, sent in 1925.
A. S. Burgess, sent in 1926; field representative for Foreign Missions, 1935.
Mayme Stevenson, sent in 1927.
Agnette Haugen, sent in 1927.
Agnes England, sent in 1927.
F. S. Hallanger, sent in 1928.
Bertha Rorstad, sent in 1930.
Dora Gulbranson, sent in 1930.
Lyla Sivesind, sent in 1930.
C. Halvorson, sent in 1936.
Magnild Nybroten, sent in 1936.
Charles Jeannot, sent in 1936.
Kenneth Norlie, sent in 1937.
Gunda Hennum, sent in 1937.
May Rendahl, sent in 1937.
George Anderson, sent in 1938.

XVIII. The American Lutheran Church in New Guinea

New Guinea! Americans have repeated this name scores of times since the outbreak of the war. Before this many of them had never heard of the island, although it is the largest island in the South Sea, with an area of 305,900 square miles. It has a length

of about 1,500 miles and varies in breadth between 200 to 400 miles. Although it was discovered early in the sixteenth century by the Portuguese, none of the land-hungry European states desired it. Finally in 1885 it was divided between Great Britain, Germany, and the Netherlands. It remained, however, for Christian missions to open the roads to civilization and to bring peace to the warlike Papuan tribes and prove that the Gospel of Christ is "the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believeth." [1]

The first two missionaries to New Guinea, Otto and Geissler, were Lutherans supplied by the renowned Pastor J. Gossner. These two men founded the stations at Doreh Bay in 1885, which later were taken over by the Utrecht Society.[2]

The London Missionary Society began its work in New Guinea in 1871. The Anglicans and Wesleyans began theirs in 1891. But the Lutheran mission, by God's grace, became the most important factor in Christianizing the Papuans. When the northern part, which lies east of the 141st meridian, came under German dominion, the Neuendettelsau Society secured the Finschhafen territory and the Rhenish Society obtained Astrolabe Bay.[3]

The Neuendettelsau Society's famous pioneer missionary to New Guinea, Pastor Johannes Flierl, Sr., began work at Finschhafen in 1886.[4]

The Rhenish Society's pioneer missionaries, Erich and Thomas, began their work at Bogadjim, on the Bay of Astrolabe, south of Madang.[5]

New Guinea was a good example of a virgin mission field. Untouched by civilization, Papuan heathenism had exerted its corrupting influence undisturbed and unhindered. Animism was represented in New Guinea in its grossest forms, and Maja, the unwritten code of customs and behavior, governed all activities.[6]

Flierl and Tremel, missionaries of the Neuendettelsau Society, built their first mission station at Sunbang. Flierl and the later missionaries had to fight illiteracy, malaria, sorcerers, and the distrust of the natives.[7]

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1 George Drach, *Our Church Abroad,* pp. 201—202.
2 *Ibid.,* p. 202.
3 *Ibid.,* p. 202.
4 *Ibid.,* pp. 203—204.
5 *Ibid.,* p. 207.
6 *Ibid.,* pp. 204—205.
7 *Ibid.,* pp. 205—206.

The Rhenish missionaries labored and suffered under similar conditions and difficulties. Its pioneers, Erich and Thomas, started their work in May, 1887. They were followed by others. After a school had been established, parents and children gradually became interested in the Bible.[8] The first Baptism occurred in 1899, when two Kai boys, products of a mission school, confessed their Redeemer.

Through the efforts of the Rev. Christian Keyser the younger generation of converts were induced to become helpers. The training schools for evangelists were filled, and more than 600 helpers were employed so that the occupants of the interior could also be brought to Christ. These projects required an increase in personnel and expenditure. Industrial stations were added, and coconut plantations were laid out. The printers at Lagaweng and Kurum supplied the field with schoolbooks, while the mission stores at Meneba and Ragetra supplied the necessities of life. Each district owned a schooner. Since the funds had been raised by little German children, the schooners were named the "Bavaria" and "Rhenowestphalia." The Papuans took notice, saved from their meager earnings to build chapels and schools. Then came the Great War.[9]

Both the Rhenish and Neuendettelsau missions were in Northeast New Guinea, called by the Germans *Kaiser Wilhelms-Land*, but were taken over by the Australians after the war broke out in 1914. After the war the League of Nations granted it to Australia as the "mandated" Territory of New Guinea.[10]

Most of the missionaries were permitted to stay at their work, but great need developed, since furloughs became overdue, new workers could not be sent, and there was a lack of money and supplies. The need at Finschhafen was taken care of by the Synod of Iowa and Other States and some Lutheran synods in Australia (later merged into the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia). Help was also brought to the missionaries at Madang when they needed it.[11]

After the war the fate of the German missionaries was uncertain because the Australian government was gradually going to deport them all. In order that the work might not be deserted

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[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 207—208.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 212—213.

[10] F. Braun and C. V. Sheatsley, *On Both Sides of the Equator*, p. 90 and *passim*.

[11] Drach, *op. cit.*, p. 215 and *passim*.

altogether, the Synod of Iowa and Other States and the U. E. L. C. A. (in Australia) began to send men and women as well as money. Thus it happened that in the early twenties some of the American missionaries and some of the Australian missionaries were sent to both fields. The time for deportation of the German missionaries was repeatedly postponed, and finally, after much pleading, they were permitted to remain.

The terms of the Versailles Treaty demanded that both missions be conducted under other than German administration. Therefore the work at both Madang and Finschhafen was carried on under the auspices of the Church in America and in Australia. The German societies demanded the return of their fields, so that finally, when permission had been granted, Finschhafen (Neuendettelsau) took over its field again and the Rhenish Society its field. Co-operation with the American missionaries caused some problems; so "spheres of interest" were mapped out. The American mission was to be between the other two, namely, on the Rai Coast. The Americans did not fare so well becausee of the lack of a good harbor, lack of a supply house, lack of a hospital, etc. Finally, when the Rhenish Society could no longer carry on, chiefly for financial reasons, they were willing to permit the Americans to take over the mission at Madang, especially since the Americans had saved the work around Madang by investing much money and sending more workers.

In 1932 the work was definitely taken over by the American Lutheran Church, and since that time this field has been known as Lutheran Mission Madang.[12]

A sheet of information issued by the Board of Foreign Missions of the American Lutheran Church gives us a few vital facts concerning the Lutheran Mission Madang. From this we quote:

1. *Correct Name of Our Field:* The official name of our mission in New Guinea is *Lutheran Mission Madang,* but we usually speak of *Our New Guinea Mission.*

2. *Location of Our Field:* It is found in the Madang District of New Guinea, the second-largest island of the world.

New Guinea is located north of Australia and south of the equator. It is about 1,500 miles long, and from 200 to 400 miles wide. Its size is about three times that of Great Britain; Texas and Ohio together would find room in it.

3. *Geographical Division of New Guinea:* The island is divided into

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[12] Braun and Sheatsley, *op. cit.,* p. 135 and *passim.*

three parts, viz., Dutch New Guinea comprising the northwestern half (under Holland); Papua, the southeastern portion (under Great Britain); the Territory of New Guinea, the northeastern section (under Australia). The latter is divided into three parts, viz., the Morobe, the Madang, and the Sepik Districts.

4. *Madang:* The Madang District, with the town of Madang as its administrative center, is approximately one half the size of Indiana and twice that of Massachusetts.

5. *The Population:* The exact population of New Guinea is not known; that of the northeastern section, The Territory of New Guinea, consists of 3,000 British, 2,000 Chinese, 400 Germans, 150 Americans, and approximately 800,000 Papuans.

The population of the Madang District alone consists of 117,000 natives who are listed and an estimated 150,000 natives who are not listed, some Chinese, and approximately 200 white people.

6. *The Country:* Most of New Guinea is covered with rugged mountains, some of them 12,000 to 14,000 feet high. Innumerable rivers and creeks rush down the mountains of this wild country, and through some grass plains into the Pacific Ocean.

In the whole Madang District there are only about 64 miles of vehicular roads, but approximately 1,781 miles of bridle paths.

7. *The Climate:* The climate is strictly tropical — average temperature of 88° Fahrenheit, very high humidity, average rainfall of 162.63 inches per year.

8. *Products:* Products raised consist mainly of coconuts, bananas, papayas, yams, taro, and sago. Sweet corn, potatoes, cocoa, coffee, peanuts, and fruits, like limes, mangoes, and oranges, can be raised. Gold has been found in a few places.

Our Mission is not interested in finding and obtaining the country's gold or other riches, but in bringing to its inhabitants the pure gold of the Gospel.

9. *The Natives:* The inhabitants of New Guinea are a chocolate-brown race called Papuans. Their hair is dark and curly. They are heathen savages, many of whom still practice cannibalism.

Different languages and dialects divide the people into countless tribes and clans. They live in small villages and are continually at war with each other. Nationalism does not reach beyond their own small tribe. The life of many of them reminds one of the stone age. Their implements, of which there are few, and their weapons are made of wood and stone. They wear but scanty dress of bush material.

10. *The Native's Religion:* The religion of the native is animistic. They have no idols, but worship spirits, mostly the deified souls of their ancestors. Sorcery and witchcraft permeate their whole life. They live in constant fear of human and superhuman enemies.

11. *The Language:* Over 300 languages and dialects have been found in New Guinea, over 45 in the Madang District alone. Our Mission is trying to introduce the Graged language as the future church language for all.

Each missionary must learn at least two native languages, namely, Graged and that of the local tribe.

12. *Missionary Work:* From 1887 to 1903 the Mission converted one soul. By 1914 there were 96; today there are over 16,000. More than *200 trained native teachers and evangelists* are at work, among them five *native pastors.* There are 14 main mission stations and hundreds of outlying stations.

13. *Schools:* Our Mission conducts over 100 Christian day schools, attended by some 2,800 boys and girls.

The Central School at Amron trains native teachers and evangelists. Our Mission also conducts a school for Chinese children and has made a beginning with a small industrial school.

14. *Medical Missions:* We have our own hospital at Amele, with two doctors and three nurses and a dispensary at every main mission station.

Thousands of patients are treated during the year and thereby influenced for Christianity. The hospital also trains native medical helpers.

15. *Industrial Work:* We have our own printery and carpentry, a few coconut plantations, and raise some cocoa and many products in fields and gardens for home consumption and market. The Mission also has its own store and supply house and two motor boats, a larger one, the *Totol,* and a smaller one, the *Iowa.*

16. *The Missionaries:* Our *missionary staff* consists of 18 pastors, 14 laymen, 2 doctors, and 3 nurses. [13]

The work at Madang suffered in the early days from much sickness and death among the Rhenish missionaries, the chief cause being malaria. This meant a constant change in the personnel in a mission field with numerous languages and dialects. Two other problems were the close contact, and therefore competition, of the Roman Catholics at Alexhafen, north of Madang, and the life led by the other whites.

When the war broke out in 1939 the Lutheran Mission Finschhafen had about 40,000 baptized members and the Lutheran Mission Madang about 17,000. In September, 1939, most of the German missionaries at Finschhafen were interned and taken to Australia. There were a few Australians in the Finschhafen staff, but the interning of the German missionaries meant that most of the Finschhafen stations were deserted. Some of the stations were taken care of for a time by members of the mission staff at Madang, but since the Japanese arrived at Madang, there are no white missionaries active in New Guinea. The natives must carry on by themselves.

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[13] Anonymous, *Our New Guinea Mission.* The writer has this sheet in his files.

AMERICAN PERSONNEL

Carl Bertram (1928—1935); Emma Blum (1935—); Ress H. Boettcher (1937—); Theodore G. Braun, M. D. (1930—); Sophie Deguisne (1923—1933); Felix Doering (1935—); A. B. Estock, M. D. (1923—1926); Emma Engeling (now Mrs. T. Radke) (1924—); Hedwig Engeling (now Mrs. T. Braun) (1924—); Paul Fliehler (1926—); Henry Foege (1930—); Albert C. Frerichs (1937—); Emilie Gruber (now Mrs. E. Hannemann) (1934—); Emil Hannemann (1923—); Herbert Hannemann (1935—); Ronald Hanselman (1926 to 1936); Hilda Hauert (1935—); Frederick Henkelmann (1927—); Agnes Hoeger, M. D. (1935—); George L. Hueter (1926—1932); Rudolph Inselmann (1936—); Tennie Kalkwarf (1924—1926); Fred Knautz (1921—1928); John F. Kuder (1934—); Alvin E. Kuehn (1936—); John F. Mager (1927—); Willie Pfeifer * (1929 to 1933); Edward F. Pietz (1922—); Louise Reck (1924—1929); Hans P. Schwartz (1931—); Lydia Seidler (now Mrs. P. Fliehler) (1930 to); Willie Siemers (1922—); Daniel Spier (1935—1937); Irma Taeuber (1935—); Hans Thogersen (1935—); Gretchen Tamminga (1928—); Ida Voss (Mrs. E. Hannemann) * (1921—1924); Luthilde Voss (Mrs. V. Koschade) [14] (1921—);

AUSTRALIAN MISSION WORKERS ON THE MADANG FIELD [15]

August C. Bertelsmeier (1937—); Anna Giess (1931—); Karl Holtkamp * (1921—1928); Bernhard Jaeschke (1935—); Frieda Klotzbuecher (1935—); Victor Koschade (1921—); Charles Lewald * (1935—1936); John Linder (1922—); Wilhelm Loehe (1928—1931); Adolf Obst * (1922—1930); Theodore Radke (1922—).

MEMBERS OF THE RHENISH MISSION PERSONNEL TAKEN OVER BY THE AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH

Hermann Alt (1930—); Walter Doege (1930—); George Eiffert (1907—1935); Heinrich Schamann (1905—); Friedrich Schoedtler (1930—); Walter Stahl (1930—); Jacob Welsch [16] (1913—).

When the Japanese invaded, the missionaries were at their posts. The missionaries in the interior were ordered out and then taken out by airplane by the Australians.[17] The sixteen missionaries along the coast were captured. Dr. Taeuber pays tribute to the interned missionaries:

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* Died.

[14] Braun and Sheatsley, *op. cit.*, pp. 151—152.

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 150—151.

[17] For further details regarding the evacuation see the Rev. A. Frerichs, "'Hell's Angel' Takes Missionary from His Work," *The Lutheran Missionary*, Vol. XXIII, No. 6 (June, 1943), pp. 2—4. Also the Rev. H. R. Hannemann, "I Had to Say Good-Bye," *The Lutheran Missionary*, Vol. XXIII, No. 6 (June, 1943), pp. 5—6.

It is wrong to say that they were taken by surprise or that they lingered too long; likewise it is wrong to think that they did not realize the danger that was approaching. These brethren knew and understood fully the risk they were taking but felt constrained to face whatever was coming in obedience of faith before God and their church and in love and devotion to their flocks.[18]

The following sixteen missionaries were captured by the Japanese: Rev. Hans Ander, Jr.; Rev. Harry R. Dott; Rev. Paul E. Fiehler; Rev. John Haferman; Rev. Frederich Henkelmann; Rev. John Mager; Rev. Jacob Welsch; Mr. Raymond Barber; Mr. August Bartelsmeier; Miss Frieda Klotzbuecher, R. N.; Dr. Theo. G. Braun; Mrs. Theo. G. Braun, R. N.; Mr. Walter Krebs; Mr. Alvin Kuehn; Mr. Theodore Radke; Mr. Wm. Siemers; Mr. Wilbur Wenz; Sister Marie Kroeger; Mr. Andrew Mild.[19]

Dr. Taeuber continues:

Rev. and Mrs. Walter Doege and two children are in the Philippine Islands. One daughter studies in Switzerland. Recently word reached us by courtesy of a Presbyterian Foreign Mission Society that the Doeges in Manila are alive and free. We have no contact with them.[20]

The Doeges are German citizens.[21] This perhaps explains their freedom.

Again we quote Dr. Taeuber:

Mr. and Mrs. Hans P. Schwartz and one child have been detained in Germany.

Miss Gretchen Taminga [sic], R. N., has also been detained in Germany.

The Doeges, Schwartzes, and Miss Taminga [sic] are listed by us as "inactive."

The following are interned in Australia:

Rev. Herman Stahl, Mr. Heinrich Schamann, Mr. Herman Alt.

Rev. Friedrich Schoelter is in Australia and most likely interned. The following are on forced furlough in Australia:

Mrs. Theodore Radke and two children. Efforts are being put forth for her return to the United States.

Mrs. Friedrich Schoetler and two children; Mrs. Walter Stahl and two children; Mrs. Heinrich Schamann and two children; Mrs. Jacob Welsch.

Mrs. Wilbur Wenz. Efforts are being put forth for her to come to the U. S. A. She is an Australian. Her husband's home is in Otis, Colorado.

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[18] Richard Taeuber, "Remember Our Interned Missionaries," *The Lutheran Standard,* Vol. CII (March 18, 1944), p. 5.

[19] Dr. Richard Taeuber, "Occupy," *The Lutheran Missionary, Vol. XXIV* (February, 1944), p. 6.

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] Braun and Sheatsley, *op. cit.,* p. 150.

Mr. C. Berthold Jaeschke is in military service in Australia.

Mr. John Linder is engaged in a small business with his brother.

Recently wives of interned missionaries have been permitted to see their husbands in camp for the first time in twenty months. The Board has expressed its wish that it be made possible for the wives and children of those interned to see each other oftener, as far as traveling expenses are concerned.

The following missionaries are home on forced furlough:

Rev. and Mrs. Martin Ackermann and one child. Rev. Ackermann is studying at the Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford, Conn.

Rev. and Mrs. Ress H. Boettcher and two children, at Eureka, South Dakota. He will attend a business college shortly.

Rev. and Mrs. Felix Doering and two children. Rev. Doering is studying at the Canadian School of Missions at Toronto, Canada.

Rev. and Mrs. A. C. Frerichs. Rev. Frerichs studies at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri.

Rev. and Mrs. Paul G. Freyberg. Rev. and Mrs. Freyberg are studying at the Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford, Conn.

Rev. and Mrs. E. F. Hannemann and four children. Rev. Hannemann pursues his studies in Chicago, Illinois.

Rev. and Mrs. H. R. Hannemann and one son. Rev. H. R. Hannemann studies in St. Louis, Missouri, Concordia Seminary.

Rev. and Mrs. Inselman and two children. Rev. Inselman studies at the Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford, Conn.

Rev. and Mrs. John Kuder and four children. Rev. Kuder studies at the University at Buffalo, New York.

Mrs. John Mager, at Eau Claire, Wis. She is doing some deputation work. She will go to Texas for a few weeks this spring.

Mrs. Andrew Mild and one child, at Sawyer, North Dakota.

Dr. Agnes Hoeger has joined the Army and is studying preventive medicine for the tropics in Washington, D. C.[22]

For the meager news that can be obtained regarding the Lutheran Mission Madang, we again quote Dr. Taeuber, executive secretary of the Board for Foreign Missions:

As far as New Guinea is concerned, we have been able to receive very little information since Japanese invaded our Madang area before Christmas of 1942. From public news reports, however, we know that Madang and various places of our mission field have been bombed repeatedly, first by the enemy and later on by the Allies, so that we must conclude that very little, if any at all, of our movable property will be left, although a recent report submitted by Director Theile brings us the welcome news that Chaplain Maahs, who visited him, told him of his visit at some of the island stations of both Lutheran missions in New Guinea and found them still intact and kept up by the natives, as, for instance, Asaloka. Maybe

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[22] Taeuber, *op. cit.*, pp. 6—7.

God has some more such happy surprises for us. We hope and pray that the Holy Spirit will make strong some of our native evangelists and teachers so that they may prove themselves real Christian missionary leaders to the honor and glory of God and to the healing and saving of so severely tempted and downtrodden native young Christians and congregations. Christian brothers and sisters, show your deep-seated interest and faith communion with these our fellow Christians of the brown skin by sharing their cross and sustaining them in their trials by ardent prayer.[23]

Book Notices:

This Is Luther. By Ewald M. Plass. Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis 18, Mo. 395 pages. $5.00. Indexed.

The Devotional Bible. The Gospels According to St. Luke and St. John. Centennial Series. By Dr. Theo. Hoyer and the Rev. H. W. Gockel. Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis 18, Mo. 528 pages. $3.00.

The Abiding Word Vol. II. Doctrinal Essays. Centennial Series. Edited by Dr. Theodore Laetsch. Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis 18, Mo. 783 pages. $2.00. Indexed.

A Child's Garden of Bible Stories. By Arthur W. Gross. Illustrated in color by Rod Taenzer. Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis 18, Mo. 146 pages. $2.60.

How We Got Our Denominations. A Primer on Church History. By Stanley I. Stuber. The Associated Press, New York, N. Y. Order through Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis 18, Mo. 224 pages. $2.50. Indexed. W. G. P.

Accessions

Nov. 27, 1948, to March 31, 1949

From the library of Dr. F. Brand: *Die Apostolischen Gemeinden,* Paul Wigand, Berlin, 1895; *Die Lehre von der Kirche,* Fr. Brunn, Dresden; *Ueber Gemeindeversammlungen,* St. Louis, 1902; *Attitude of the Lutheran Church of America in the Present World Crisis,* H. E. Jacobs 1917; *Schriftwidrige Lehre und Praxis in der heutigen Missouri-Synode,* A. Enseleit, Milwaukee, Wis.; Oeffentliches *Zeugniss gegen die Taufe der Leugner der heil. Dreieinigkeit,* St. Louis, Mo.; *Das Credo der Kirche,* Albert Peip; Guetersloh, 1872; *Ueber das Wesen des rechtfertigenden Glaubens,* Speckhard; *Zur Einigung der Amerikanisch-lutherischen Kirche,* Geo. J. Fritschel, Chicago, 1914; *The Need of Christian Education by Means of Parochial Schools,* J. Schaller, 1900; *Predigt,* C. L. Janzow; *Predigt,* H. Sprengeler; *Das Amt unserer Gemeinde-Schullehrer,* F. Berg, 1903; *Lebensversicherung,* Ludwig Schulze; *Vom Christlichen Geben,* Wm. Dallmann, Boston, 1903; *Die Notwendigkeit und Verbindlichkeit des kirchlichen Bekenntnisses,* Ferdinand Philippi, Guetersloh, 1880; *Church Going,* Wm. Dallmann, Pittsburgh; *Leichenverbrennung,* J. M. B., 1897; *Was hat der Mensch mit seiner Bekehrung und Seligkeit zu thun?* F. W. Stellhorn, Columbus, 1894; *Kurze Nachricht von dem Urtheil der luth. Gemeinden in St. Louis ueber einen sogenannten Unterstuetzungsverein,* A. L. G.; *Communismus und Socialismus,* C. F. W. Walther, St. Louis, 1878; *Baptism with the Holy Spirit,* F. G. Cassens, Milwaukee; *Nimm und*

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[23] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

lies, Otto Willkomm, Zwickau, 1922; *Wie die Missouri Synode den Namen Dr. Martin Luthers gemissbraucht und die reine lutherische Lehre von der Gnadenwahl und von der Bekehrung verkehrt hat,* C. Blecker, Egg Harbor City, N. J., 1901; *Oeffentliches Colloquium, zwischen Mo. Syn. und Iowa Syn.,* Milwaukee, 1868; *Lehre von der Gnadenwahl,* Simon Pauli, St. Louis, 1880; *Die jetzige Lehre der Synode von Missouri von der Ewigen Wahl Gottes,* H. A. Allwardt, Columbus, 1909; *Vom Tanzen,* C. M. Zorn; *Woman Suffrage in the Church,* W. H. T. Dau, St. Louis; *Bekehrung und Gnadenwahl,* C. M. Zorn, St. Louis, 1902; *Be Fruitful and Multiply,* G. Luecke; *Was sind die sogenannnten Irvingianer fuer Leute?* C. F. T. Boehm, Berlin, 1896; *Die Sorge fuer unsere Konfirmierte Jugend,* von H. J. Schuh, Columbus, 1887; *Der Segen unsers Gemeindeschulwesens;* Minutes of General Council, 1868; *Geschichte der Wiedertaeufer in der Schweiz,* Richard Nitsche, Einsiedeln, New York, Cincinnati, and St. Louis, 1885; *Kirchliche Zeitschrift,* April, 1908; *The Bennet Law; Verhandlungen der Ev. Luth. Jehovah Gemeinde,* Detroit, Mich.; *Today's Challenge and Tomorrow's Opportunity; Half a Century of Sound Lutheranism in America,* A. L. Graebner, St. Louis, 1893; *Votum ueber die eidliche Verpflichtung der protestantischen Geistlichen in Sachsen auf die kirchlichen Symbole,* G. C. Adolph Harless, Leipzig, 1846; *94ster Jahresbericht der Evangelischen Missions-Gesellschaft zu Basel,* 1909; *Report of the Board for Higher Education,* 1944; *American Lutheran Almanac,* 1899—1900; *Fiscal Conference Minutes,* 1942; *Fiscal Conference Prospectus,* 1942; Missouri Synod Convention Reports, 1926, 1929, 1932, 1935, 1941; Reports and Memorials, Missouri Synod, 1929, 1932, 1947; *Statistical Yearbook,* 1918—1919, 1921—1925, 1927—1928, 1930—1935, 1937, 1939—1944, 1946; *Amerikanischer Kalender,* 1887—1890, 1892—1896, 1898—1910, 1914, 1918, 1924—1935; *Lutheran Annual,* 1910, 1919—1920, 1922, 1928—1934, 1945, 1947; *Der Lutherische Kalender,* 1890, 1896, 1898; *Evangelisch-Lutherischer Kalender,* 1897; *Materials pertaining to Missouri Synod and World War I; Das Papsttum der lutherischen Kirche,* Sept., 1911, Jan., 1912; *Hankow Herald,* issues pertaining to 1926 Communistic uprising.

Dr. W. G. Polack: *Lutheran Annual,* 1948; *Am. Kalender,* 1933; Minutes of Federation of Luth. Clubs, Inc.; *A Century of Life and Growth,* Augustana Bk. Concern, 1948; Chinese Term Question documents and opinions; *Concordia Junior Messenger,* March, 1939; *College Administration Bulletin,* Oct., 1929, Jan., 1930, April, 1930, Feb., 1931, May, 1931, Feb., 1933, Oct., 1933, Jan., 1934; Luth. Church Review, Jan., 1925; Clippings from various magazines; *The Luth. Principle of Indoctrination versus the Pedagogy of Modernism,* P. E. Kretzmann; *Luth. Church Art,* Apr., 1927, Jan., 1929; *Statistical Yearbook,* 1926, 1928—31; *Minutes of English Dist. of Ohio Synod,* 1870, 1880 (2 copies); Constitution of Ohio Synod, 1875; Minutes of Concordia English Dist., Ohio Synod, 1880, 1882; Minutes of General Council, 1899; *Extracts from Minutes of English Synod of Northwest,* 1893; Gettysburg Theo. Seminary Bulletin, Seminary Centennial number, Feb., 1926; *Theological Forum,* April, July, Oct., 1932, April, July, Oct., 1933; *Luth. School Journal,* Vol. 66, 67; *Walther League Convention Year-Book,* 1928 to 1934; *The Military Policy of the United States,* Emory Upton, Washington, 1916; *10th Anniversary Booklet of Bethesda Lutheran Home,* Watertown, Wis., 1914; *History of Bethlehem Orphans and Half-Orphans Home,* Ft. Wadsworth, New York; *Bittschriften und Erklaerungen zur Rechtfertigung der Organisation der St. Petri Ev. Luth. Gemeinde, U. A. C., Baltimore, Md.,* Baltimore, 1857; Synodical Reports: 1897, Ill. Dist.; 1909, Central Ill.; 1910, Central Ill.; 1901, Iowa; 1912, Central Ill.; 1913, Central Ill.; 1915, Central Ill.; 1919, Central Ill.; 1921, Central Ill.; 1922, Central Ill.; 1927: South Nebraska, Atlantic, Michigan, Central, Texas, Oreg.-Washington, Western, North Neb.; 1928: Southern Ill., Oreg.-Washington, Michigan, North. Ill., Eastern, Western, Atlantic, North. Nebr., Texas, Central Ill., Central, Synodical Conf.; 1930: Michigan, So. Wis., Oreg.-Wash., Atlantic, Texas, English, Central, North. Nebr., Western, Eastern, So. Ill., Synodical Conference; 1937: Texas, Michigan, Eastern, So. Wis., English; 1932: Synodical Conference; *The Illustrated Home Journal,* Vol. 5—7; *Manual on North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools,* 1934; *Proposed Additions to the Liturgy and Agenda,* Conc. Publ. House; Johann Philip Fresenius' *Pastoral Sammlungen,* section III and IV, with the diary of David Brainerd, Frank-

furt und Leipzig, bey Wolfgang Ludwig Springs sel. Erben, und Johann Gottlieb Garbe, 1749. *Synodical Handbook,* 1937; 1945; *Proposed Synodical Handbook,* 1943, 1947; Correspondence; Articles in *Walther League Messenger* on Fathers of Synod.

From Concordia Publishing House: Minutes of the following: Missouri Synod, 1917 (2); 1920; 1923 (2); 1926 (2); 1929 (2); 1932 (2); 1935; 1941; 1947 (2). Synodical Conference, 1914 (2); 1916 (2); 1920 (2); 1922 (2); 1924 (2); 1926 (2); 1928 (2); 1930 (2); 1932 (2); 1936 (2); 1938 (2); 1940 (2); 1944 (2). Alb. and Br. Col Dist., 1921 (2); 1922 (2); 1924 (2); 1927 (2). Atlantic, 1933 (2); 1934 (2); 1936 (2); 1939 (2). California and Nevada, 1924 (2); 1933 (2); 1934 (2); 1936; 1939; 1940 (2); 1942 (2); 1945 (2); 1946 (2). Central, 1928; 1934 (2); 1940; 1942; 1943. Central Ill., 1912; 1913; 1916; 1924. Colorado, 1922; 1925 (2). Eastern, 1922; 1924 (2); 1927; 1931; 1933; 1934 (2); 1936 (2); 1937; 1939; 1940 (2); 1942 (2); 1943 (2); 1945 (2); 1946 (2); English, 1925 (2); 1927 (2); 1931; 1933 (2); 1934 (2); 1936 (2); 1940 (2); 1942 (2); 1943 (2); 1945 (2); 1946 (2); 1948 (2). Iowa, 1924; 1925 (2); 1927; 1928; 1930; 1933. Kansas, 1922; Manitoba and Sask., 1922 (2); 1924 (2); 1934 (2). Michigan, 1922; 1925 (2); 1928; 1934 (2); 1936 (2); 1937; 1939; 1940 (2); 1943 (2); 1945 (2); 1946 (6). Minnesota, 1924; 1925 (2); 1927 (2); 1928; 1934 (2); 1936 (2); 1937; 1939; 1940 (2); 1943 (2); 1945 (2); 1946 (2). Minn., 1924; 1925 (2); 1927 (2); 1928 (2). N. Dak. and Mont., 1924 (2); 1925 (2); 1927 (2). Northern Ill., 1922; 1927; 1928. Northern Nebr., 1933 (2); 1934 (2). Okla., 1924; 1927 (2); 1928 (2). Oreg. and Wash., 1927; 1930; 1931; 1942 (2); 1946 (2). S. Dak., 1922; 1934 (2). Southeastern, 1939; 1942 (2); 1946 (2); 1948. S. Wis., 1922 (2); 1925 (2); 1927 (2); 1928; 1930; 1933 (2); 1934; 1937; 1942 (2); 1943 (2); 1945 (2); 1946 (2). Southern Nebr., 1924 (2); 1925 (2); 1927 (2); 1928 (2); 1933 (2). Southern Illinois, 1924 (2); 1925; 1933; 1936 (2); 1937; 1939 (2); 1940; 1942 (2). Texas, 1924; 1925; 1936 (2); 1940 (2); 1942; 1943; 1945 (2); 1946 (2); 1948 (2). Western, 1922; 1924; 1925 (2); 1927; 1928; 1930; 1942.

Lutheran Annual, 1949; *Kalender,* 1949; Proceedings of Texas District, 1948 (2 copies); Bound copies of *Lutheran Witness,* Vol. 67; *Lutheraner,* 104; *Concordia Theological Monthly,* 19.

National Lutheran Council: Constitution of National Luth. Council, 1945 (2 copies).

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Dr. Paul W. Spaude: *Principles of Teaching,* J. H. C. Fritz; *The Lutheran Confirmation Book,* S. E. Ochsenford; *Present Day Lutheranism,* F. P. Manhart; *Explanation of Catechism,* Norwegian Synod; *Bible History,* H. A. Urseth; *Biblische Geschichte,* A. F. Ernst; *Katechismus,* Evangelical-Congregational; *Kleine Schulkunde,* J. S. Simon; *Biblische Geschichte,* Old and New Testament, W. Wegener; *Northwestern Lutheran Annual,* 1948; *Ad. F. T. Biewend,* H. C. Wyneken; *Concordia Collegium,* Ft. Wayne, C. P. H. 1889; *Lehrplan,* J. S. Simon; *Was Sagen Die Worte?* J. Lindemann; W. L. Manual, 1935; *Schul-Praxis,* J. Lindemann; *Lehrbuch der Deutschen Sprache,* August Crull.

Pres. Thomas Coates: *The Bluejay,* Portland Concordia Annual, 1948, of Portland Concordia.

Rev. A. J. E. Meier: History of St. John's Cong., 1948, Beck, Mo.

Rev. B H. Hemmeter: Memorial Service, Dr. A. W. Meyer; 5th Annual Banquet, Men's Club, Calvary, Buffalo, N. Y.; Commencement Program, Walther College, 1912; Program of Dedication of Parish House, St. Matthew, N. Y.; History of Zion, Boston, Mass., 1889; History of St. Paul's Cong., Paterson, N. J., 1915; F. Pfotenhauer, Golden Jubilee, 1930; History of Our Savior, Dayton's Bluff, Minn.; Program of 400th anniv. of Reformation, Ft. Wayne, Ind.; *Luth. Soldiers and Sailors Bulletin,* Vol 2, No. 1; History of Concordia, Akron, O., 1929; Dedication of Organ, First Trinity, Buffalo, N. Y.; Quadricentennial of Reformation, Lutheran Churches, Synodical Conf., New York.

A. R. Suelflow, *Curator*